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333 One source of status and distinction is not included on a current list
177 of minor skills; that is, bravery in war. Before the pacification of the island by the Hollanders a man might gain distinction through wealth or warfare. Today only wealth remains. For the successful warrior a special status term exists that means essentially a "killer," a "bad man" (*kiki*). Seers also have a special status term (*tinang*).

339 At present in Atimelang only two men are definitely at the nonprivileged end of the scale. One is a man about forty years old who has never married and never distinguished himself in any way. The other is a young simpleton who still associates with boys and is a docile servitor to his elder kin. Otherwise, even needlest and poor men are to some extent involved, or hoping to become involved, in the competitive system. Perhaps this is one reason, combined with others, that skills are on so low a level in the community. The foregoing list of people known
[84] for special abilities indicates the poverty of the range. It does not, however, indicate the triviality of the reward. Such skills may serve to identify their possessors, but little more. They are not substitutes for wealth, and the power they give over other people is minimal. They may secure a modicum of respect but they give no true prestige.

● 734 The seer has opportunities for wielding social power, but that power,
345 though real, is covert. The payments he gets for curing are so small that they serve only as a supplementary source of income. His position is reminiscent of the more academic scientists in our culture, whose power is indirect and whose reward financially is not comparable to that of a "captain of industry." In the autobiographies are the histories of two seers, a man and a woman. I have the impression that they are both people with a considerable desire for power who are using the role of seer to induce their own image of themselves because the financial role is largely blocked. Rilpada's life history and dreams deserve special study from that point of view.

441 It could be argued that such substitutive gratifications might be expected to flourish in a society where the cultural goal is so often associated with frustrations and difficulties. That they do not may be symptomatic of a general underdevelopment of sanctory techniques. It is patent that in practically all specialties there is a singular slovenliness of achievement. Maikaliera, who is listed as a man distinguished for gardening, planted a field far too large for his labor resources for weeding it. A careful study I made of his expenditures in gardening feasts and of his returns revealed that he had lost out in the enterprise, although he did not seem aware of the fact.

Carvings of village guardian spirits, familiars, and the like are all

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In this connection it is quite remarkable to observe the collapse into inertia that accompanies most internal illnesses. A person suffering from headache, cold, influenza, diarrhea, or similar illness will escape hopelessly in the house and be quite sure he is going to die. Kin usually rally around the sick person with a good deal of concern, and divinatory means are immediately sought. If these are unfavorable — and there is never any thought of concealing the results from the patient — the depression is naturally heightened. The patient will sit in the dark, smoke-filled house without bathing, often refusing food, and getting no exercise or fresh air for days at a time. These factors, particularly when combined with a depressed state of mind, gave me the impression that it is quite possible for certain Atiuelangers to die with insufficient physical cause. When the watchers hear the death rattle, they say of the person, "His breath string is broken; already his dying is finished (*breaking tila sik; wase mami kangwi*)." Failing a death rattle, the cessation of heartbeats and of breathing are also considered criteria of death.

In addition, a prolonged disintegration of normal conscious personality such as occurs in delirium or coma is also considered the equivalent of death. Signs of animation are thought to be simply manifestations of an evil spirit who has caused the death and has now possessed himself of the body. There is always a good deal of fear and distress associated with such a situation. Under such circumstances the advisable thing to do is bury the body as expeditiously as possible. As a result people are occasionally buried whom we would consider still living. At least two such cases occurred in eighteen months, and Rilpudy's autobiography gives a singularly matter-of-fact account of a near fate of the same sort. When this concept was discussed with informants they related cases of people who still talked, but who were so dead that their flesh had begun to rot away. From an Atiuelanger's point of view this is quite possible, since sick people never bathe or move from their sleeping mats in the dark and often filthy living rooms. Under such circumstances any lesions could rapidly develop into extremely noxious infections.

The relation of such a concept of death to trance states is worth considering. Among the seers of Atiuelang it is assumed that in curing-séances their familiaries perch on their shoulders and speak through their mouths. The seer is supposedly unaware of what he is saying. This might sound like a true trance condition. My observations, however, lead me to suppose that seers were far from being in deep trances. Their eyes were open, their movements and speech controlled and coherent, and their muscular tone normal. Supernatural phenomena seem to be the result of obvious sleight-of-hand tricks, which appear singularly

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736 158 inept when compared to the shamanism of even such marginal areas as California. In other words, despite local theory, I observed nothing that impressed me as real possessionalism.*

198 787 828 There were also in Atimelang certain individuals who had attacks of hyperactivity. One of these was mentioned in connection with obscenity on page 157. Another case was of a woman who began shouting and joking in a loud and apparently compulsive fashion and sometimes accompanied her conversation with a rhythmic jumping up and down. On occasions of this sort people said that their familiars had risen within them (*betmaang hamin nirang*). This is the same phrase used in connection with seers. Such attacks usually provoke a good deal of amusement among younger people, but older ones are inclined to discourage any teasing or response that might prolong the attack.

[822]

158 Again from observation the attacks of hyperexcitability in these two women in no way suggested trance conditions. Accounts of people considered insane, which will be discussed later, gave no indication that they were in trance states. In other words, I very much doubt that deep trances occur except as rare individual aberrations. They are certainly not induced deliberately nor are they culturally prized. It is quite possible that real trances would be associated with the type of "death" that 828 783 754 273 was thought to occur in delirium and coma, and such an association may have helped to check the introduction of such trances from other cultures. If such is the case, it would also serve to cut down the impressiveness, and therefore the potential power, of seers. Lastly, the danger of losing one's normal personality would seem to offer a possible explanation for the lack of interest shown by Atimelangers in intoxicants. The use of palm wine is known among the coastal peoples, and the requisite palm grows in the mountains; but the mountain peoples do not use it, or even indulge in palm wine during protracted visits to the coast.

158 787 828 It is also interesting that one case of possible suicide, a person who was obviously insane, revolved around this same theme of spirit possession and premature burial. I quote a detailed account for the light it throws on the subject.

The narration referred to an event that occurred about fifteen years ago and began with Fanseni's accidentally offending an evil spirit who lived near his maize field. Some two months later, when the maize was being carried back to his house for storage, signs of abnormality were first noted. Fanseni complained of a violent headache and refused to eat,

* A detailed study of the trances was not made. It is possible, of course, that seers were in a subconscious. By this I mean that conscious control is not lost, but that an emotional condition exists in which the person deliberately shuts out many external stimuli.

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manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is not institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in money, goods, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forefunded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

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Kewoinen she put a bean in her ear, and she cried. I saw the bean there. I took a needle and fished it out very carefully. [He demonstrated with gestures.] The bean fell out then and blood flowed. 159[K]

May 18, 1939

Last night I dreamed and when I awoke this morning I told about it. I dreamed I was guarding people who were repiling the stone cairns in their fields. I said, "These stone cairns make the gardens small. Make walls on the boundaries instead." I was just standing guard over their work to see that it was done. [This order was actually given out two days ago by the officials and was relayed to the villagers by their chiefs. Was Malinke giving himself governmental powers in this dream, or was he trying to impress me? This work would soon be actually done, and perhaps he thought I might not know of the order.] I watched and watched until the fields of all the three villages were finished. I awoke and the roosters were crowing. Then I went back to sleep and dreamed again.

The earthquake had come. People beat gongs and muskets and ran around. I said, "Don't beat gongs and muskets. It is as though you were calling people to give them to the earthquake. Sit quietly." But the people did not stop. Suddenly a big noise came from the mountains and all the houses fell down. I said, "You did not follow my words, and now it has come full force." If my dream is true, it means that next month a big earthquake must come. If not an earthquake, then another big wind. When the earthquake came, I saw the large houses were all askew and the small ones were all down. Then my dream broke off.

[He continued immediately with the following.] If a familiar spirit extracts an object from a sick person and the sick person doesn't pay well or doesn't do right, the stone returns to his body. Last year Lonfani [his wife] got sick and people came and took out flints, sea pebbles, and plate chips. One hundred and fifty they extracted. They would take one out and in a little while she would cry and they would take out another. This year I paid a pig for all this work. But now she is sick again and they have already taken out fifteen. Each day they take out one, and I pay three cents or five cents each time. I throw away five cents. I throw away three cents. Last year I threw away one rupiah and fifty cents. Now I already have thrown away ten cents. Maybe the seer is deceiving us. Does he take one out and put it back again? [Who is the seer?] It is Rilpada. Formerly, when his father was a seer, his father would put a stone in his mouth first and then suck and pretend to draw it out as he sucked. But Rilpada is different. He pulls them out with his 159[K] 755 [758] 465 [756] 159[K] 755

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[Here she stopped, feeling she had summarized her life. Either she [59X
or the interpreter spoke of dreams. I was not quite sure what happened here. I said that dreams, her own experiences, and the like might be told. She started with her supernatural experiences, but the interpreter again interfered and asked for the preceding night's dreams.]

Last night I dreamed that Fanteo the Interpreter came three times to call me. Then the nonya came, and I gave her young areca nuts. She put two coins in my hand.

One night I slept in a house and many night birds came into the [59X
house, very many of them. They were all making a noise. People said, 756 ●
"This surely means something." That day I had helped to feed the 787
familiar spirits of my forebears. I had no familiars of my own, but at that time some rose in me. There was a person sick in Kaburewa, and people called me because they heard I had become a seer. I sat with the sick person until he was well. After he was well, I returned here. I was raising a pig, which was already half grown. It disappeared. I took bamboo leaves and swept the pig's sleeping place with them. As the sun rose I held up the leaves and looked. I saw two spirits standing in them; one was Fanpeni and one was Pudemani. Fanpeni was the familiar of Maleta's father, and Pudemani was mine. These two had stolen my pig. Then my female spirit, Lomaru, rose in me. I grasped a sword and ran to Watabiang. There was my pig. Fanpeni and Pudemani had it. I took it and brought it back to the house at Atibeimanuk.*

In the morning I went with fire to watch my field all day. Letlaka [59X
came and asked me for areca. I already knew that Letlaka had a reputation for sleeping with women, so I didn't give him any. Then Letlaka came back one day and said, "If you don't want me, whom do you want to marry?" I said, "Oh, I am just a young child. I know only garden work and getting food."

Then my uncle said, "If you wish, we can get Kupeifani's Hawetaka moko to pay Pudaleti, who is dunning me." [That is, he wished to [59I]
marry off his niece so that he could meet his debts with her bride-price.] I deceived him, saying, "Oh, good. Get his moko to pay the debt [meaning that she was willing to marry Kupeifani]." After that Kupeifani came to me all the time. So I said to him, "Oh, we two are siblings. We can't marry. You are my true brother because our parents were also siblings. Later you can give a dowry on me and get some of my bride-price to pay back this Hawetaka moko. I shall marry another

* For more about Kolmani's supernatural experiences, see page 539.

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159 said they had better come fetch me before I married another man. He ordered Langmai to come and stay with me. [Stop.] Langmai's family came to Atibaimanok to stay, but Langmai didn't come with them. I asked why their son had not come. At this time Langmai's father, who was sick, did nothing but sleep. I said, "How is it that your son has not come? You had better go home." Then the old man cried. I was sorry for him and spoke nicely to him, and they stayed on. [Stop.] Lakaseni said we had better cultivate a large field, and if Langmai remembered us he would come to help. Langmai did come to help us. [Stop.] I said to him, "The old man is sick all the time and does nothing but sleep. Is it better for you to go stay with women all the time, or to come and mind the old man?" Then he said, "Those women made my heart bad [*hawai he berka*, meaning to be in love], but now I want to stay here and think only of field work." We all went on with the field work and made all the feasts necessary in cultivating a field. [Stop.] Then Langmai's father got better, and they went back to Old Atimelang. I stayed in Atibaimanok. Langmai said, "Why do you stay here? Who will carry wood for the old people?" I said, "Your heart is still thick [i.e., still has others in it]. Only part of it is mine, and part of it is someone else's. There isn't enough of it for me yet." [Stop.] I said, "You came once and spoke nicely, so I went to stay with you at Maikaliera's house, but your relatives left me alone in the house. Now you come again and talk nicely to me. How do I know?" [Stop.] I said, "I can carry wood once in a while to the old people even while I am living here. And if your heart remembers me once in a while, you can come here to see me." [Stop.]

When Langmai's father was strong, Langmai stayed with me all the time and worked. People began to notice that I was pregnant. I gave birth to Lakaseni [a child who died in its second year]. Then Langmai threw me away again and went to live with his parents in Old Atimelang. [Stop.] When this child could walk, he developed yaws and then diarrhea. From these he died. [Stop.] Then I went to Old Atimelang to live with Langmai.

159 736 787 Both of us got malaria. Every three days we had attacks. [Stop.] Next a hungry time came. My familiar spirits, Lomani and Kolfani, who had come to me when I was still young and before I married, had a sacred hearth at which I fed them. Langmai made poison against my familiars by hanging two plants over their hearth. As I was going along the trail one day, a bird sent by my familiar spirits called to me. When I got home, we were both struck down with fever. [Why had Langmai

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poisoned her spirits?] Every night the spirits rose in me so that I couldn't sleep. I wandered around talking to people and chewing areca with them. Langmai was afraid I might sleep with other men. Langmai got a chicken. I had just one handful of rice left, because it was a hungry time, but we fed the spirits' hearth, and then our illness went away. [Stop.] I told Langmai, "If you don't make me a boat carving, hang it over the hearth of my spirits, and feed them, we shall surely die." He made a boat carving and hung it over the hearth. After we fed it, we were soon well. [Stop.]

When we were strong again, we went to a field and built a house there. The chief of Atimelang came and asked us for our taxes. We didn't pay them, so he hit us both with a rattan switch. Then Maikalieta's wife, Fuimai, said, "Don't beat my brother and my brother's wife." She paid a rupiah on our taxes. [Stop.] At this time we went to stay with Maikalieta. He said we had to pay back his money. So I and Langmai went to gather tamarind fruit; we pitted them and sold them in Kolabubi to pay back that rupiah. When we paid it I said, "I made a field and planted it. I asked Fuimai to weed it, saying we would be partners in the field. We divided the corn. That was to pay back the money we owed her. But now that we have paid the money in cash also, who will give back my corn?" Maikalieta chased us away and said we could not stay there any more. But Fuimai was angry with him and said, "Do my brother and his wife sleep on your lap or arms, that you order them away?" That ended the quarrel and we stayed on. Then one day Langmai and Aburkomai dropped Maikalieta's dog out of the house and it yelped. Maikalieta shouted, "Who is hitting my dog? Are you copulating with it [a very insulting suggestion]?" So they answered, "Who is copulating with the dog? If you want to copulate with it, come on." Maikalieta was angry and said, "You can't stay here. Go away and sleep wherever you wish." It was the rainy season; clouds were hanging low and rain was falling. The two men cried and ran to Maugata in Lawatiks. They were all young at the time and were accustomed to play together.

April 25, 1939

Last night I dreamed I went up to Mailang's house in Fulafeng. I dreamed I had a small field house near his. I saw people lead two carabaos toward us and tie them to the posts of my house. After a while Mailang and Maikalieta came with another carabao, a black one, and tied it to my house. I asked why they tied three large carabaos to my

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came to me. I said, "While you were off to do road work, I gave birth. If my uncle Likma had not been here, I should have died. But he took sick and fed the spirits, and so I got well. Now you had better buy that sheep for a death feast so that we may stay well." [Stop.] I said, "Your kin said we had better get a broken gong as a temporary payment for the dead, but I don't want to. We had better buy the sheep. I have already spoken to the owner of a sheep. We had better give him something to eat first and then go fetch it. Later we can pay for it." [Stop.] We brought the sheep here. The owner came asking for pigs all the time and I gave him money. When the time came to pay for the sheep, we gave only a Kolmale gunko in addition. Lolmani wanted to cut a large new field before killing the sheep, but I said, "No, we must do it now or we shall all be sick all the time." [Stop.] At this time I was feeding the sheep constantly, but its body became thin anyhow. That was because we did not know who were our Male House kin. I, Lolmani, and Fuimsu searched for our Male House and learned who they were.

[Here Kolmani went into the details of the death feast involving the sacrifice of a sheep, which she and her husband had just completed. She came two more days but could not be diverted from ethnographic descriptions. The series of autobiographical sessions was therefore discontinued.]

KOLMANI'S SUPERNATURAL EXPERIENCES

[In connection with material on seers Kolmani gave some accounts of the supernatural experiences that led to her acquisition of familiar spirits. These were given in fragmentary form and have been synthesized here.]

My mother and her great-uncle [her father's father's brother] were seers. When my mother died, her familiar spirits all went to her great-uncle. When I was young, I was sick a great deal. Whenever I was ill, I sacrificed a chicken and rice to his spirit altar, and then in five or six days I would be well again. One night a flock of night birds came to me, and my soul disappeared. (See page 503.)

We all sat up all night. I don't remember what I did or said, but people told me that spirits spoke through my mouth. There were four of them. They sat on my shoulder and spoke through me. I don't know what they were like. I never really saw them. It is as though wind were passing by; but they can turn themselves into snakes and different kinds of birds. People told me that my familiar spirit Lormani said, "Oh, mother and father, I went to you. Your hands were level and your legs were level [i.e., they were good parents]. As I sit on your hands and

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[157 735] your legs, you disappeared [died]. Now your daughter Kolmani has made my fire and is feeding me flesh and vegetable foods."

After that a kinsman made me a bone carving and a hearth frame, which I hung on the wall of the house and fed.

After that my mother's great-uncle, Fanmai, said, "My child, your mother died and all her spirits came to me. You had better come three or four times a month and sacrifice to the spirit carving I have for them." After a time Fanmai and his wife said I had better give them a pig and some cloth so that my familiar spirits would help bring mine to me. They also said that when I cured a person for the first time and was given a pig in payment I should bring them the pig.

People must have heard about me, because when Djetlang was sick they called me to come. I was by the sick people and when familiar spirits rose in me, I talked. When they left, I fell asleep. At that time I began rubbing sick people and taking out sharp stones and sea pebbles. [158] Some had invisible wounds from evil spirits, and these I rubbed with soot to heal them. Djetlang and the others all got well, and each one gave me four coconut-shell dishes full of rice as payment.

[159] Some time after this my husband, Langmai, was sick. I was staying with my aunt and uncle at the time, and he came to live with us. I said to my uncle and aunt, "Old people, you have taken Langmai's molem as a bride-price. You had better return them and let him go home. Who will sit with him? What seer will treat him?" My uncle Fanmai said, "Don't be like that. Take care of him." I didn't want to, but I had to. His lineage house spirits were making him sick, so people sacrificed to them; but Langmai was still ill. Then my familiar spirit Lormani came to me and sucked out from his abdomen the shell of a water snail. The shell was there because a witchwoman had given him areca to chew. I said to him, "You probably went to Abuiwati [a village suspected of witchcraft] and a woman gave you an areca nut to chew. Is that true?" He answered, "Yes, that is true. I went there to a dance, and three girls repeatedly offered me areca. Finally Maikalieta [his kinsman] shouted at them, telling them to leave me alone." After two months Langmai recovered and his body was fat once more.

[Kolmani gave several other rather colorless accounts of cures she had effected. She had relatively little to say about either her cures or her familiar spirits. She did say that the death of her first child was due to the visitation of two evil kinsmen of her familiar spirits. She discovered, after having fed them for some time, that they had been the cause of her child's death, and for that reason she threw away the water-worn